

## Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 019282

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, TU, CY

SUBJECT: MESSAGE FROM TURKISH PRIME MINISTER ON CYPRUS AND  
US-TURKISH DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT

THERE FOLLOWS BELOW A TRANSLATION OF THE FRENCH TEXT OF A  
NOTE FROM THE TURKISH PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE TO NATO,  
WHICH WAS DELIVERED BY SECRETARY GENERAL LUNS TO THE VICE  
PRESIDENT IN BRUSSELS ON JANUARY 24. THE TURKISH PERMREP  
CHARACTERIZED THE NOTE AS A MESSAGE FROM PRIME MINISTER  
DEMIREL TO THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION.

BEGIN TEXT:  
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NOTES ON THE CONVERSATION OF THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE  
OF TURKEY WITH THE SECRETARY GENERAL ON JANUARY 24, 1977.

1. I HAVE COME TO SEE YOU UPON INSTRUCTIONS OF MY PRIME  
MINISTER AND MY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.
2. MR. CARTER DURING HIS ELECTION CAMPAIGN MADE RATHER  
PRO-GREEK STATEMENTS; ALTHOUGH VAGUE, THESE STATEMENTS WERE  
NO LESS DISTURBING. WITHOUT LOSING ITS COMPOSURE OR ITS  
DIGNITY, TURKEY DID NOT REACT AGAINST THESE STATEMENTS.

AFTER HIS ELECTION MR. CARTER UNDOUBTEDLY WANTED TO TURN THE TIDE SOMEWHAT WITH HIS FAR MORE OBJECTIVE AND REALISTIC STATEMENT OF DECEMBER 1, 1976. THIS STATEMENT RECOMMENDED SIMULTANEOUS RATIFICATION OF THE DEFENSE AGREEMENTS WITH GREECE AND TURKEY BY THE AMERICAN CONGRESS. IN THE LATTER STATEMENT MR. CARTER ALSO SPOKE OF THE CYPRUS QUEST, ON AND THE GREEK-TURKISH DISPUTE IN GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE TERMS. HOWEVER, WE HAVE NO IDEA AT THIS TIME WHETHER OR NOT MR. CARTER IS GOING TO RECOMMEND THAT CONGRESS ACCOMPANY RATIFICATION OF THE TURKISH-AMERICAN AGREEMENT BY CERTAIN POLITICAL CONDITIONS REGARDING THE SETTLEMENT OF THE CYPRUS CONFLICT. FURTHERMORE, IT MUST NOT BE FORGOTTEN THAT THE LATTER STATEMENT IS NOT BINDING ON THE NEW AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION SINCE IT WAS MADE BEFORE THE TRANSFER OF POWER ON JANUARY 20 AND A REEXAMINATION OF AMERICAN POLICY WITH REGARD TO THESE PROBLEMS WOULD BEGIN IN COMING DAYS.

3. WITH RESPECT TO THE TURKISH-AMERICAN DEFENSE AGREEMENT, THE TURKISH POSITION REMAINS UNCHANGED. THE TURKISH PEOPLE WILL CONSIDER THE REFUSAL BY THE AMERICAN CONGRESS TO RATIFY THIS AGREEMENT AS CONTRARY TO THE SPIRIT OF THE ALLIANCE WHICH UNITES THEM TO THE UNITED STATES. MOREOVER, IN TURKEY'S EYES, TO ACCOMPANY THIS RATIFICATION BY POLITICAL CONDITIONS WHICH HAVE NO RELATION WITH THE DEFENSE OF THE TERRITORY COVERED BY THE ALLIANCE WOULD BE CONFIDENTIAL

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TANTAMOUNT TO REFUSING RATIFICATION. THIS REFUSAL WILL CERTAINLY HAVE SHORT-TERM REPERCUSSIONS IN TERMS OF BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN TURKEY AND THE UNITED STATES, ENTAILING THE IMMEDIATE DEPARTURE OF AMERICAN PERSONNEL AT COMMON DEFENSE INSTALLATIONS IN TURKISH TERRITORY AND THEIR PERMANENT CLOSING. THE SAME REFUSAL WILL ALSO HAVE LESS IMMEDIATE BUT NO LESS CRUCIAL CONSEQUENCES. FORCED TO MAKE A DEFINITIVE CHOICE BETWEEN ITS VITAL NATIONAL OBJECTIVES AND ITS RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE COMMON DEFENSE OF THE ALLIANCE, TURKEY WILL THEN CERTAINLY BE LED TO RECONSIDER ITS DEFENSE EFFORTS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE INTEGRATED MILITARY SYSTEM OF THE ALLIANCE. SUCH A REFUSAL COULD ALSO

HAVE UNFORESEEABLE CONSEQUENCES ON FUTURE TURKISH PUBLIC OPINION. NO TURKISH GOVERNMENT WOULD IN FACT BE ABLE TO GUARANTEE THE REACTIONS OF THE TURKISH PEOPLE WHEN THEIR HONOR AND THEIR SENTIMENT OF ATTACHMENT TO THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE ARE AFFECTED.

4. TURKEY IS NONETHELESS AWARE OF THE NEED TO ESTABLISH NEW SOLID AND LASTING RELATIONS WITH GREECE. TURKEY HAS NO TERRITORIAL DESIGNS OVER GREECE. THE QUESTION OF THE CONTINENTAL SHELF OF THE AEGEAN SEA DOES NOT CONSTITUTE A TERRITORIAL QUESTION FOR EITHER OF THE TWO STATES CONCERNED THIS IS ALSO TRUE OF THE QUESTION OF THE FIR LINE BETWEEN

THE TWO COUNTRIES. TURKEY IS CURRENTLY ENDEAVORING TO RESOLVE THESE TWO QUESTIONS THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS. SOME PROGRESS HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED IN BOTH THESE AREAS. THE BERN AGREEMENT OF NOVEMBER 11, 1976 CONSTITUTES AN IMPORTANT STEP IN ORDER TO PERMIT NEGOTIATIONS TO DEVELOP IN A MORE SERENE ATMOSPHERE.

TURKEY, FOR THE SAME REASON, IS ALSO AWARE OF THE NEED TO RESOLVE THE CYPRUS QUESTION.

TURKEY HAD TO INTERVENE MILITARILY IN CYPRUS IN CONFORMITY  
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WITH THE 1960 GUARANTEE TREATY. THIS INTERVENTION WAS DECIDED FOLLOWING THE COUP D'ETAT PERPETRATED BY EOKA-B AND ITS IMMEDIATE PURPOSE WAS TO PREVENT A GENOCIDE OF TURKISH CYPRIOTS. THIS POSSIBILITY WAS RECOGNIZED BY ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS HIMSELF. IN FACT, THE TURKISH MILITARY INTERVENTION WAS THE CONSEQUENCE OF A LONG SERIES OF VIOLATIONS OF THE CYPRIOT CONSTITUTION, THE BASIC PROVISIONS OF WHICH HAD BEEN APPROVED BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS AND THE THREE GUARANTOR STATES. THE MAIN OBJECTIVE OF THIS CONSTITUTION WHICH ESTABLISHED A BI-COMMUNAL STATE WAS TO GUARANTEE THE HUMAN RIGHTS AND COMMUNITY RIGHTS OF THE TURKISH COMMUNITY LIVING ON THE ISLAND. FROM 1963 TO JULY 1964 THE GREEK CYPRIOTS SUCCESSIVELY ABOLISHED ALL THESE GUARANTEES. THE TURKS OF THE ISLAND WERE SUBJECTED TO CONTINUOUS EXTORTION AND FORCED TO LIVE CONFINED IN ABOUT 100 COMPOUNDS.

THE GREEK CYPRIOT ARMY WAS--AND IS STILL--COMPOSED OF AND COMMANDED BY GREEK OFFICERS APPOINTED BY THE ATHENS GOVERNMENT; AND, STILL IN VIOLATION OF THE 1960 NICOSIA AGREEMENTS, UNTIL 1967 GREECE MAINTAINED A DIVISION EQUIPPED WITH AMERICAN WEAPONS WHICH WAS ONLY OBLIGED TO EVACUATE THE ISLAND UNDER THE PRESSURE OF TURKEY AND THANKS TO THE EFFORTS OF CYRUS VANCE.

THE NEW ADMINISTRATION AND THE NEW AMERICAN CONGRESS MUST

THEREFORE RECOGNIZE THAT JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS ARE NOT ONLY ON THE SIDE OF THE GREEK CYPRIOTS. AN OBJECTIVE AND IMPARTIAL STUDY OF THE HISTORY OF THE ISLAND SUFFICES TO PROVE IT. THE TURKISH PEOPLE, FOR THEIR PART, WILL NEVER AGREE TO BE TREATED BY THEIR MOST POWERFUL ALLY AS AN OPPRESSOR OR AS A CONQUEROR. FOR THE TURKISH PEOPLE, THE INTERVENTION OF THEIR ARMED FORCES IN CYPRUS WAS ONLY AN ACT OF JUSTICE.

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TURKEY IS EAGER TO FIND A JUST SOLUTION TO THE CYPRUS QUESTION. IT CAN ONLY BE FOUND WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE CYPRIOT REPUBLIC EQUIPPED WITH THE INSTITUTIONS OF A FEDERAL STATE COMPOSED OF TWO TURKISH AND GREEK FEDERATED STATES.

SINCE THE BRUSSELS AGREEMENT OF DECEMBER 1975 HAS BEEN THWARTED BY OPPOSING PROCEDURAL INTERPRETATIONS, THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS HAVE TAKEN THE INITIATIVE OF BREAKING THE CURRENT DEADLOCK BY PROPOSING A SUMMIT MEETING BETWEEN PRESIDENT DENKTASH AND ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS. THERE ARE GOOD REASONS TO HOPE THAT THIS MEETING WILL TAKE PLACE. IT COULD PERMIT SERIOUS AND DETAILED NEGOTIATIONS ON ALL THE ASPECTS OF A PACKAGE DEAL. THE ALLIED COUNTRIES' SUGGESTIONS ON THIS MATTER WILL ALWAYS BE WELCOME AND EXAMINED WITH THE ATTENTION WHICH THEY MERIT. IF THE TWO COMMUNITIES ARE ABLE TO ARRIVE AT A GLOBAL COMPROMISE IN THE ABSOLUTE SECRECY OF NEGOTIATIONS, THEIR AGREEMENT WOULD HAVE SUFFICIENT WEIGHT TO AVERT OTHER DIFFICULTIES.

IN ANY CASE, MY PRIME MINISTER ASKS YOU TO TELL VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE THAT HE IS READY TO ASSIST THE NEGOTIATORS TO THE EXTENT OF HIS POSSIBILITIES. MY PRIME MINISTER ALSO AUTHORIZES THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO TELL THE VICE PRESIDENT THAT IF HE WINS THE 1977 ELECTIONS HE WILL SPARE NO EFFORT TO FIND AS SOON AS POSSIBLE A JUST AND HONORABLE SOLUTION IN CYPRUS.

5. A REFUSAL BY THE AMERICAN CONGRESS TO RATIFY THE TURKISH-AMERICAN DEFENSE AGREEMENT OR THE ACCOMPANYING OF RATIFICATION OF THIS AGREEMENT BY POLITICAL CONDITIONS CONCERNING CYPRUS MUST NOT CREATE A VICIOUS CIRCLE. AMERICAN PRESSURE ON THE DEFENSE LEVEL, RATHER THAN FACILITATING THE SEARCH FOR A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION AT CYPRUS, MAKES IT EVEN MORE COMPLICATED AND DIFFICULT, IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE. ITS ONLY CONSEQUENCES WILL BE TO WEAKEN CONFIDENTIAL

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THE BONDS WHICH UNITED TURKEY TO THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AND TO THE UNITED STATES.

6. ELECTIONS WILL NORMALLY BE HELD IN TURKEY LATE THIS COMING OCTOBER. THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN WILL BEGIN IN EARLY JUNE. LEFT EXTREMIST ELEMENTS WILL TRY TO GAIN GROUND DURING THIS CAMPAIGN IN ORDER TO SEVER TURKEY FROM THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. RIGHT EXTREMIST ELEMENTS, FOR THEIR PART, WILL TRY TO DO THE SAME IN ORDER TO STRIKE A FATAL BLOW AT THE TIES WHICH TURKEY HAS WOVEN SINCE ATATURK WITH THE WEST. THESE TWO LEFT AND RIGHT EXTREMISTS HAVE UNFORTUNATELY BEEN ASSISTED TO A LARGE EXTENT SINCE 1963 BY THE ERRORS WHICH THE UNITED STATES HAS COMMITTED IN ITS

POLICY CONCERNING THE CYPRUS QUESTION. THE TURKISH-AMERICAN DEFENSE AGREEMENT MUST THEREFORE NOT BE ABLE TO CONSTITUTE A CONFLICT ISSUE DURING THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

TURKEY, IN PRINCIPLE, HAS NO OBJECTION TO THE TWO GREEK-AMERICAN AND GREEK-TURKISH (SIC) AGREEMENTS BEING RATIFIED AT THE SAME TIME BY THE AMERICAN CONGRESS. THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT GREECE PREFERS FOR THESE TWO AGREEMENTS TO BE REJECTED BY THE CONGRESS. TO BE CONVINCED OF THIS ONE NEED ONLY RECALL THE DISTRESSING COMMUNIQUE SESSION AT THE LAST MINISTERIAL COUNCIL. THE IMPACT OF A DOUBLE REJECTION WOULD HAVE NO LESSER CONSEQUENCES FOR TURKEY. IRRESPECTIVE OF GREECE'S TRUE INTENTIONS, IT IS EVIDENT THAT IT IS USING DILATORY TACTICS BY UNDULY DRAWING OUT NEGOTIATIONS ON THE ANNEXES OF THE GREEK-AMERICAN AGREEMENT. IN THE CURRENT POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES, TURKEY CONSIDERS THAT THESE TACTICS CAN NO LONGER BE TOLERATED AND THAT THE TURKISH-AMERICAN DEFENSE AGREEMENT MUST BE RATIFIED IN TWO OR THREE MONTHS AT THE MOST. END TEXT.

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